

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 ARA-10 EB-08 AID-05 AGRE-00 OES-07

COME-00 CU-04 /103 W

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R 121650Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6537

INFO AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 13202

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PDEV, IT, AO, MZ

SUBJECT: ANGOLA: AN ITALIAN APPRECIATION

REF: MAPUTO 966

BEGIN SUMMARY. LUCIANO RADI, ITALIAN MP AND UNDER SECRETARY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, BRIEFED CHARGE AUGUST 10 ON RADI'S TRIP TO ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE THE FIRST WEEK OF AUGUST. RADI'S PRINCIPLE CONCERN WAS TO CONVEY TO USG ITALIAN VIEW THAT WEST, IN PARTICULAR THE US, MUST PLAY A GREATER CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN ANGOLA TO REDUCE SOVIET INFLUENCE AND ROOM FOR MANEUVER. ACCORDING TO RADI, GOA WISHES UNDER CONDITIONS GOI CONSIDERS NOT UNREASONABLE, TO MOVE TOWARD A MORE GENUINE NON-ALIGNMENT, REDUCE ITS ORIENTATION TOWARD THE USSR, AND
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ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. RADI SPOKE BRIEFLY ON MOZAMBIQUE AND ON HIS MEETING THERE WITH ROBERT MUGABE OF ZIMBABWE PATRIOTIC FRONT. END SUMMARY.

1. RADI LED SMALL ITALIAN PARLIAMENTARY GROUP
(COMPRISING CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT, COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST)

TO LUANDA AND MAPUTO BETWEEN AUGUST 1 AND 8, SPENDING THE BULK OF THE TIME IN ANGOLA. RADI BILLED THE TRIP AS THE FIRST VISIT TO EITHER COUNTRY BY "A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT". COOPERATION AGREEMENTS (SEE BELOW) WERE COMPLETED WITH BOTH COUNTRIES.

2. ACCORDING TO RADI, ANGOLAN PRIMIN DO NASCIMENTO (GROUP DID NOT MEET WITH PRESIDENT NETO) AND HIS MINISTERIAL COLLEAGUES LAID HEAVY STRESS ON THE POLITICAL CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN FROM THE GENESIS AND DENOUEMENT OF THE ABORTED MAY 27 COUP. IN AN ASSESSMENT SHARED BY GOI, DO NASCIMENTO SAID COUP PLOTTERS WERE EXTREMIST ELEMENT, OPPOSED TO MPLA'S THEME OF NON-ALIGNMENT, AND DETERMINED TO MOVE ANGOLA FURTHER INTO THE SOCIALIST (READ SOVIET) CAMP. PRIOR TO EXPOSING THEMSELVES IN MAY THEY HAD USED THEIR POSITIONS IN GOA TO OBSTRUCT NETO'S MODERATE PROGRESS, ATTEMPTING TO TILT ANGOLA TOWARD MOSCOW.

3. NOW THAT THE EXTREMISTS HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED AND ROOTED OUT, THE DOMESTIC SCENE IS MUCH IMPROVED. THE DIVISIONS AND CONTRADICTIONS IN THE GOVERNMENT ARE PAST. THE NEW HARMONY IS PERMITTING THE GOVERNMENT TO CONCENTRATE ON RESTORING THE ECONOMY. GOVERNMENT IS SOCIALIST BUT PRAGMATIC, AND RECOGNIZES THAT THE ENORMOUS HELP IT NEEDS IS TO BE FOUND ONLY IN THE INDUSTRIALIZED WEST, PARTICULARLY IN THE UNITED STATES.
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4. WHILE NOT WILLING TO COMPROMISE ITS PRINCIPLES, THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT WISHES TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. THERE ARE TWO CONDITIONS PRECEDENT AND NECESSARY, FROM ANGOLAN OUTLOOK, FOR SUCH NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS; ACCEPTANCE OF GENUINE ANGOLAN NON-ALIGNMENT, AND NON-NEGOTIABILITY OF CUBAN PRESENCE.

5. ANGOLANS HAD SIAD "NON-ALIGNMENT" WOULD DEBAR ANY FOREIGN BASES ON ANGOLAN TERRITORY, ACCORDING TO RADI. (WE DID NOT ASK HOW ANGOLANS SQUARED THAT PRINCIPLE WITH HEAVY CUBAN PRESENCE.) GOA HAD MADE IT VERY CLEAR THAT THE CUBANS ARE PERCEIVED AS IMPORTANT OR EVEN INDISPENSABLE IN ANGOLA FOR BOTH MILITARY AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, AND THAT THEIR PRESENCE WAS NOT NEGOTIABLE. SO LONG AS FOREIGN AGITATION AND SUPPORT CREATED SECURITY PROBLEMS IN ANGOLA, E.G. SAVIMBI'S UNITAS, THE CUBANS WERE GOING TO STAY. MOREOVER, THE CUBANS HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY AS LONG AS SOUTH AFRICAN SOLDIERS ARE TO BE FOUND ON ANGOLA'S BORDER.

6. ALONG THESE LINES, RADI ALLUDED VAGUELY ON SEVERAL

OCCASIONS TO OUTSIDE INFLUENCE DIRECTED AGAINST THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT AND THE MPLA. HE DEPLORED EXTERNAL SUPPORT FOR DISSIDENT GROUPS AS EXTENDING THE NEED FOR CUBAN PRESENCE. MOREOVER, BY THIS ANALYSIS, TO THE EXTENT THAT DISSIDENTS SUCCEED IN WEAKENING THE AUTHORITY OF THE MPLA, TO THAT DEGREE THE RESIDUAL PRO-SOVIET ELEMENTS ARE ENCOURAGED.

7. RADI ALSO ALLUDED TO THE NEED, IN ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL TERMS, FOR OUTSIDE HELP FOR ANGOLA. HE SPOKE ILLUSTRATIVELY OF "HUNDREDS" OF SOVIET-SUPPLIED TRUCKS LACKING ANGOLANS TRAINED TO DRIVE OR MAINTAIN THEM. HE SAID THAT INTERNAL SPLITS (NOW OVERCOME) AND OTHER DIFFICULTIES HAD PREVENTED MUCH PROGRESS IN OVERCOMING
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THE PROBLEMS LEFT BY THE DEPARTURE OF "20,000 SKILLED PORTUGUESE". MASSIVE OUTSIDE HELP IS NEEDED TO GET THE ECONOMY ROLLING AGAIN, AND THE ANGOLANS RECOGNIZE IT WILL NOT BE FORTHCOMING FROM THE WP COUNTRIES.

8. RADI SUMMED UP THIS PART OF HIS ACCOUNT BY SAYING THAT THE EVENTS OF MAY 27 AND AFTER INDICATE THE PRESENT ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT IS THE BEST WE CAN EXPECT TO GET, NEEDS HELP, IS OPEN TO THE WEST UNDER REASONABLE CONDITIONS, AND SHOULD BE HELPED IN ORDER TO MINIMIZE SOVIET MANEUVERING ROOM IN THAT PART OF AFRICA.

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SS-15 USIA-06 ARA-10 EB-08 AID-05 AGRE-00 OES-07
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9. ON A BILATERAL PLANE, RADI SAID ITALIAN RELATIONS WITH ANGOLA ARE EXCELLENT. ANGOLANS RECOGNIZE AND APPRECIATE EARLY ITALIAN SUPPORT (ITALY IS STILL ONLY EC COUNTRY WITH RESIDENT AMBASSADOR), AND LOOK ON ITALY AS THEIR "WINDOW ON THE WEST." RADI WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO POINT OUT TO US THAT WINDOW IS TWO-WAY, AND GOI WOULD BE GLAD TO BRING IT INTO PLAY IN US OR WESTERN INTEREST, WHENEVER WE REQUEST.

10. SIMILARLY RADI CHARACTERIZED RELATIONS WITH MOZAMBIQUE AS VERY SATISFACTORY (REFTEL). ALTHOUGH THE GROUP DID NOT MEET WITH PRESIDENT MACHEL, THEY WERE WELL RECEIVED BY PRIME MINISTER DOS SANTOS.

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11. WHILE IN MOZAMBIQUE, ITALIANS MET ROBERT MUGABE OF ZIMBABWE PARTIOTIC FRONT. RADI SIAD HE WAS STRUCK BY MUGABE'S SKEPTICISM CONCERNING WESTERN ABILITY TO NEGOTIATE MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE; HE LOOKS ON AN ARMED SOLUTION AS THE ONLY EFFECTIVE ONE.

12. ALTHOUGH RADI IN HIS REPORT TO US PLAYED DOWN THE CONCLUSION OF COOPERATION AGREEMENTS WITH ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, A PRESS RELEASE ON HIS RETURN NOTED THAT:

A. A MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING WAS CONCLUDED WITH ANGOLA WHICH CREATES A MIXED COMMISSION TO EXAMINE COOPERATIVE INITIATIVES IN THE VARIOUS SECOTRS WHERE CEONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ACCORDS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES MIGHT BE DEVELOPED, AND

B. AN IMPORTANT PROGRAM OF TECHNICAL COOPERATION (IN MOZAMBIQUE) HAD BEEN EXAMINED AND COMPLETED IN RELATION TO COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS UNDER WAY IN THE SECTORS OF MEDICINE/SANITATION, AGRICULTURE AND

UNIVERSITY TEACHING, WHILE FAVORABLE PROSPECTS OF
ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN ENERGY/MINERALS, CIVIL
AVIATION, PETROCHEMICALS, AND TEXTILES HAD
BEEN IDENTIFIED.
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Message Attributes

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